6/29/77

Folder Citation: Collection: Office of Staff Secretary; Series: Presidential Files; Folder: 6/29/77; Container 28

To See Complete Finding Aid:

http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Staff%20Secretary.pdf

EXECUTIVE ORDER

TRANSFERRING CERTAIN BICENTENNIAL FUNCTIONS
TO THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

By virtue of the authority vested in me by Section 7(b) of the Act of December 11, 1973 (87 Stat. 701), hereinafter referred to as the Act, Section 202(b) of the Budget and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950 (64 Stat. 838, 31 U.S.C. 581c(b)), and Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States of America it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The Secretary of the Interior, hereinafter referred to as the Secretary, shall, through existing National Park Service programs, provide for the continuation of appropriate commemoration of events relating to the American Revolution until December 31, 1983.

- Sec. 2. The Secretary shall administer existing contracts and grants of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, hereinafter referred to as ARBA.
- Sec. 3. In performing the functions described in Section 1 and 2 of this Order, the Secretary may, in addition to any other available authority, exercise the following powers under the Act which are hereby transferred to him for such purposes until December 31, 1983, except as otherwise provided in subsection (b) of this Section:
- (a) All powers described in Section 2(f) of the Act with respect to the expenditure of funds donated to ARBA prior to the effective date of this Order, and the expenditure of revenues received or which may be received pursuant to contracts described in Section 2 of this Order.
- (b) Until December 31, 1977, all powers exercised by ARBA prior to the effective date of this Order which relate to enforcement of Section 2(i) of the Act.

- (c) All powers described in Section 5(a) of the Act.
- Sec. 4. All personnel, records, property and appropriations, including all funds and revenues described in Section 3(a) of this Order, as relate to the powers and functions assigned or transferred by this Order are hereby transferred to the Secretary.
- Sec. 5. The Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall make such determinations and issue such orders as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the transfers provided by this Order.
- Sec. 6. Executive Order No. 11840 of February 18, 1975, is hereby revoked.
 - Sec. 7. This Order shall be effective June 30, 1977.

Timmy Cata

THE WHITE HOUSE,

To the Senate of the United States.

Inominate Louis A. Lerner, of Illinois, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Norway.

Finney Carter

EXECUTIVE ORDER

EXEMPTION OF ARTHUR S. FLEMMING FROM MANDATORY RETIREMENT

Arthur S. Flemming, Commissioner on Aging, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Chairman, Commission on Civil Rights, became subject to mandatory retirement for age on June 30, 1975, under the provisions of Section 8335 of Title 5 of the United States Code unless exempted by Executive order. Arthur S. Flemming was exempted from mandatory retirement until June 30, 1976, by Executive Order No. 11869 of June 24, 1975. He was again exempted from mandatory retirement until June 30, 1977, by Executive Order No. 11924 of June 29, 1976.

In my judgment, the public interest requires that Arthur S. Flemming continue to be exempted from such mandatory retirement.

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by subsection (c) of Section 8335 of Title 5 of the United States Code, I hereby exempt Arthur S. Flemming from mandatory retirement until June 30, 1978.

Timney Carter

THE WHITE HOUSE,

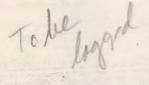
June 29, 1977

Bob Lipshutz -

For your information the attached Executive Order was signed by the President and given to Bob Linder for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Transferring Certain Functions of the American Revolution Bicentennia Administration to Dept. of Interior



THE WHITE HOUSE

FM Escovar Fin Hurtado Energy Hernander Tour (78) Arria (Tiki) Int Econ Perez " Amb Iribarren un Consalvi THE WHITE HOUSE Meetings = VeloWASHINGTON Perez of Venezula text & Secon Jone 6/28-29/77 > Los - Pres - 74. Seas - Deep mining > Jamaica 8+54 > IM7 = CONSORMEN > Panama Canal \$35-50 mil > Tlatelolco - reprocessing - Br/Arg/Cuba > BELIZE > 5. AFRICA = NamIBIA > OPEC PRICES - ENERGY RESEARCH > H RIGHTS. ARGEN - VIDECA > CUBA > ANDY- (ARIBBEAN > ANDEAN - ARMS - BOLIVIA + SEA > GEN SYS PREF - TRADE = "BAD" > N/S. > Ecosoc - International dribery > Non prolif. Tuefcycle > ED/CULTURAL - AYACUCHO > FRIENDSHIP FORCE I Noshuille > Hickory Kidnapping

FM Escovar Fin Hurtado Energy Hernander Tour (78) Arria (Tiki) Int Econ Perez Amb Ir, barren un Consalvi THE WHITE HOUSE Meetings = VetoWashington Penez of Venezula text a SEcon Some 6/28-29/77 > Los - Pres - Ith Seas - Deep mining > Jamaica 8+54 > IM7 = CONSORMEN > Panama Canal #35-50 mil > Tlatelolco - reprocessing - Br/Ang/Cuba > BELIZE > 5. AFRICA = NamiBIA 7 OPEC PRICES - ENERGY RESEARCH > H RIGHTS - ARGEN - VIDELA > CUBA > ANDY- (ARIBBEAN > ANDEAN - ARMS - BOLIVIA - SEA > GEN SYS PREF - TRADE = "BAD" > N/S. > Ecosoc - International do bery > Non prolif. Tuefcycle > ED/CULTURAL - AYACUCHO > FRIENDSHIP FORCE ? Noshuille > Hickory Kidnapping

CIEC - N/S- not failure Politicas = policies HR4 -> Milgorite "transitory" > food- health > Hi Commissioner - UN speech Perer-> Argentine Videfa -> D Chile- harchet ?? 7 > Braz. 1- Geisef -> 1: demos CELA Could may regross. plant > US 7 integration gl.A. > Brazil dominance & integration > Carib - serious - too small fragmented & mafiles or cubas > Jamarca key. Manley Joint group one program - and OAS - World Dank - ? Carib Bank > Cuba - Communist Stab, liged There USSR willing to pay = prisoners Ven/Cuba relations reoster

Pero se quive ulat E US

Terrorists in Mami - problem

Letelser titled by Cabaus

Selize - Guatemata - Pres Cunt

control army

Pero phile = Peru econ bad

Bolivia > sea = US take leed

> Giseard - Tlatelseo

Argentina - " - effort

TLO = US out = USSR/Arabs

"Colonialization of Sea": oppose
200 mile econ gones

Agui, lan - Kichardson Compromise

Transanti A/ Southern Africa

Portugal

- Ovinoco - R&D =

Der - Hum Rt

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

Texto of discusso

THE WHITE HOUSE

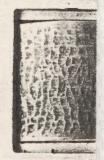
June 29, 1977

Frank Moore -

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Metcalfe & Russo





THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1977

fank

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

FRANK MOORE F.M.

SUBJECT: Metcalfe and Russo

Metcalfe

I have had Ben Brown call Rev. Jesse Jackson. Jackson's people called Ralph Metcalfe. Metcalfe will vote with you.

didnot

I am also having Atlanta headquarters call Metcalfe's Treasurer in Chicago and have asked them to give Metcalfe the benefit of the doubt regarding reimbursement for campaign expenses.

Russo

Jim Schlesinger and I both talked to Russo this morning. Russo agreed not to offer his amendment to raise the price of gas to \$1.97 based on Jim's promise that he would have input into any compromise at a later stage in the legislative process.

Russo feels that he is in the dog house with the Carter Administration since clean air. He has sent messages through every conceivable channel that he must talk to you and be assured that he is back on board.

I think we will get his vote this morning on deregulation. If you can call him this afternoon, it should lock him in for the rest of the votes.

not Lone

June 29, 1977

The Vice President Jim King

For your information, the attached nomination was signed by the President and given to Bob Linder for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Louis A. Lerner as
Ambassador to Norway



86/29/77

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 29, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JAMES B. KING /B/C

SUBJECT:

Presidential Appointment

Attached for your signature is the nomination document for Louis A. Lerner, of Illinois, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Norway vice William A. Anders, resigned.

Mr. Lerner is Publisher of Lerner Newspapers in Chicago, Illinois.

All necessary checks have been completed.

V.P. may oath

June 29, 1977

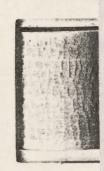
Frank Moore -

The attached letter to Senator Proxmire was signed by the President and the original is forwarded to you for delivery.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Stu Eizenstat
Bob Linder
Bert Lance

Re: Renegotiation Program



copy to Stripping

June 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

STU EIZENSTAT

SUBJECT:

Renegotiation Program

Attached is a suggested reply to Senator Proxmire's letter to you of June 7, 1977 (Tab A) seeking the Administration's position on the renegotiation issue.

June 29, 1977

To Senator William Proxmire

Thank you for your letter of June 7, asking for my views concerning S. 1594, your legislation to strengthen the Renegotiation Board.

As you know I am a strong supporter of the Renegotiation Program. I believe that your bill, which closely parallels the House bill introduced by Congressman Minnish, is a vital improvement in the renegotiation program. I support this legislation enthusiastically.

As I have indicated to members of the House, I favor requirements that companies renegotiate based on product line, and that they be required to file audits as part of the renegotiation process. I believe, however, that the Renegotiation Board should be given the flexibility to exempt companies from these requirements when the Board feels that their fulfillment would serve no useful public purpose.

I hope that this clarifies my views on S. 1594 and that you and the other members of the Senate will be able to move forward expeditiously with the passage of this vital legislation.

Sincerely,

Immy Cuter

The Honorable William Proxmire United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20515

WILLIAM PROXMIRE WISCONSIN

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 7, 1977



The Honorable Jimmy Carter President of the United States The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, bills are pending in both the House and Senate to extend and strengthen the Renegotiation Act. My own bill, S. 1594, closely parallels the bill introduced in the House by Representative Minnish. A copy of my bill is enclosed.

Because there seems to be conflicting interpretations of the Administration's position with regard to the pending legislation, and as the Senate Banking Committee is about to begin its hearings, it would be most useful if you could state your views about the Minnish and Proxmire bills.

I realize that you made a strong statement in behalf of the Renegotiation Program in your inflation message to Congress. However, a direct communication to the Committee from you would resolve any lingering questions.

Your cooperation is most appreciated.

Sincerely,

William Promote, U.S.S

WP/rke

ACTION	
	MONDALE
	COSTANZA
	EIZENSTAT
M	JORDAN
	LIPSHUTZ
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON

ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY REPORT
CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
×	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
4	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

	ARAGON
	BOURNE
	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	GAMMILL
	HARDEN
	HOYT
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
4	KING

IKRAFT
LANCE
LINDER
MITCHELL
POSTON
PRESS
B. RAINWATER
SCHLESINGER
SCHNEIDERS
SCHULTZE
SIEGEL
SMITH
STRAUSS
WELLS
VOORDE

June 29, 1977

Hamilton Jordan -

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Alternate Executive Director at the World Bank William Dixon



THE WHITE HOUSE

June 29, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Hamilton Jordan

SUBJECT: Alternate Executive Director at

the World Bank

In the attached memorandum Mike Blumenthal recommends you appoint William Dixon as U. S. Alternate Executive Director at the World Bank.

Bill has strong support on the Hill, and obviously has the credentials for the job.

I recommend you approve Mike's suggested appointment.

APPROVE______
DISAPPROVE_____
OTHER



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY WASHINGTON 20220

June 28, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: U.S. Alternate Executive Director at the World Bank

I recommend that you appoint William Dixon of Wisconsin as U.S. Alternate Executive Director at the World Bank.

Dixon has been Chief Counsel of the House
Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee for
almost three years. In that position, he has
played a major role in U.S. legislation governing
the international financial institutions including
the World Bank. He recently accompanied me to
Guatemala to attend the annual meeting of the
Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank.

Chairman Henry Reuss of the House Committee
has written you a strong letter of support for
Dixon. So have several other members of Congress.
Ex-members with whom we have checked also give
Dixon very high marks.

Prior to entering Government, <u>Dixon was in</u>
private banking for nine years with Marine Midland
Trust. His combination of financial knowledge,
expertise concerning the development banks, and
Hill relationships provide <u>an outstanding combination</u>
of talents for the position at the World Bank.

Our strongest alternative candidates are two career Treasury officials: One is Edgar Gordon, a senior development finance expert, who would be substantively excellent. The other is Margaret Gonzalez, a younger (31 years old)
Treasury economist, who has spent the last 5 years working on Bank issues - - including the last 18 months as our Technical Adviser at the Bank itself.

Recommendation: That you appoint William Dixon as U.S. Alternate Executive

Director at the World Bank.

W. Michael Blumenthal

William P. Dixon

Office: 2129 Rayburn H.O.B.

33 years old Age: Married: Wilhelmina S. Dixon Washington, D.C. 20515

Phone: 225-7057

Children: William J., 12

Michael S., 6 Meaghan P.,

Home:

3628 Trinity Drive Alexandria, Virginia 22304

Phone: 751-2977

Experience

January, 1975 - present. General Counsel and Deputy Staff Director, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. In this position I have direct responsibility for all legal matters and legislation for the Committee and supervise six attorneys in this work. I also share administrative and policy matters with the Staff Director, covering the entire range of the Committee's jurisdiction, including super-vision of 82 employees and responsibility for the Committee's budget which exceeds \$2.2 million annually. Attached is a listing of the Committee's complete jurisdiction.

I have played a major role this past Congress in legislation dealing with foreign banking, international multi-lateral development banks, supervision and reform of domestic financial institutions, and consumer protection. Additionally, I worked on legislation dealing with housing, aid to New York City, energy development, restructuring of the Federal Reserve System and other financial matters.

October, 1973 - January, 1975. Counsel, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary. My initial responsibilities were as counsel to the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties and the Administration of Justice. I had primary responsibility for oversight, and legislation relating to the nation's courts, prisons, parole, wiretapping, amnesty, juries, and related matters.

Following the resignation of Vice President Agnew, I was in charge of the House investigation into the "private" background of Gerald Ford and supervised a staff of over 25 investigators, accountants, and researchers and reported directly to Chairman Rodino.

Immediately thereafter I was directed by Chairman Rodino to work on many different areas of the impeachment investigation of President Nixon and was one of the five attorneys who reported directly to the Chairman during the course of the investigation.

Following the appointment of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President, I was in charge of the extensive investigation into his "private" and financial affairs, and directed the team of investigators, researchers and accountants during this period, and reported directly to Chairman Rodino.

November 1972 - October, 1973. Chief Counsel to Wisconsin Governor Patrick J. Lucey. In this position I was in charge of the Governor's legislative program and served as his sole liaison to the State Senate. I also handled appointments to the judiciary and district attorneys, as well as supervising attorneys who handled all pardons, and state contracts in excess of \$5,000. I served as the Governor's representative on the State Bond Board, State Claims Board, Governor's Committee on Economic Development, and the Council on Drug Abuse, and served as his liaison to the Attorney General, Council on Criminal Justice, State Banking Commissioner, Savings and Loan Commissioner, law enforcement agencies, and the Judiciary.

My legislative responsibilities included the supervision of drafting legislation, testifying on behalf of the Governor before the legislature, and working with the Democratic and Republican leadership for the enactment of bills relating to mass transit, court reorganization, environmental protection, no-fault insurance, a code of ethics for officials, criminal code reform, consumer protection measures, and countless other matters initiated by the Governor.

I also approved all office correspondence relating to legal matters, legislation, executive orders, judicial appointments, contacts with State Senators, and correctional and law enforcement matters. I advised the Governor on legal, legislative, budgetary, political and policy matters.

May, 1970 - November, 1972. Associate Attorney, Foley and Lardner law firm, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. As an associate in this law firm of 135 attorneys, I worked primarily on banking, financial, and other corporate matters and

specialized in federal banking legislation and regulation, and consumer protection legislation. I was a member of a five-member team which wrote and lobbied successfully for the adoption of the Wisconsin Consumer Protection Act in 1972 which was the nation's most comprehensive consumer law at that time.

I have also represented clients before the Federal courts and all levels of the Wisconsin state court system on matters ranging from Selective Service violations to murder.

1961 - 1968. Banker, Marine Midland Trust Company, Buffalo, New York. My experience with the bank included four years' employment while in school. This included three years in the different credit departments (1961-65) and one year substituting for branch managers who were on vacation (1969).

I completed a two-year formal training program consisting of training and experience in every area of banking. For the two years before I decided to enter law school I was a senior analyst, and was ready to be named officer in the International Banking Department at the age of 24.

Education

- September, 1967 May, 1970. State University of New York School of Law, Buffalo, New York. J.D., cum laude. I served on the Buffalo Law Review, and received many awards for academic and other achievements including the faculty award for outstanding graduate, and the alumni award the previous year as the outstanding second year student.
- September, 1961 June, 1965. State University of New York at Buffalo. B.S., Finance and Accounting.

Other Experience

August - November, 1976. Wisconsin Campaign Coordinator, Carter-Mondale campaign. My responsibilities were those normally associated with running a statewide Presidential campaign, including the supervision of 54 paid employees.

- August November, 1972. Wisconsin Campaign Coordinator,
 McGovern-Shriver campaign. In this position, I supervised
 84 employees in 42 campaign offices and had sole
 responsibility for a campaign budget of \$420,000. I had
 additional sole responsibility as State Coordinator
 (volunteer) and Treasurer for the entire budget of
 \$440,000 expended from January, 1971 to April, 1972 in
 Senator McGovern's primary campaign.
- Presently I serve on the nine-member State of Wisconsin Board of Attorneys Professional Competence which has statutory responsibility for examining all applicants for admission to the Wisconsin bar and for setting standards for mandatory continuing legal education for Wisconsin attorneys. I previously served on the U.S. Selective Service Board of Appeals in Wisconsin, and as a Trustee of the Behavoral Law Center, and on other government and community boards and committees.
- Member, Wisconsin, District of Columbia, and U.S. Supreme Court Bar, and the usual bar committees.
- I have received numerous awards from community organizations such as the United Fund, etc., and was named to Outstanding Young Men of America in 1967 by the Buffalo Junior Chamber of Commerce. I also served as a delegate to the 1972 Democratic National Convention as a member of the Rules Committee.
- Guest speaker at many schools, including Princeton, Marquette, University of Wisconsin, and State University of New York. I have also addressed numerous professional organizations and groups each year.
- My present position has occasioned extensive travel in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa. I have represented the House Banking Committee at many meetings, and served as an advisor at meetings of the International Monetary Fund, Asian Development Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, African Development Fund, and meetings with the central bank staff and the staff of the government regulatory agencies of many European countries. I am very familiar with the systems of bank regulation and supervision in many foreign countries.

LEGISLATIVE JURISDICTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING, CURRENCY AND HOUSING

The jurisdiction of the Committee on Banking, Currency and Housing is set forth in clause 1(d) of Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives as follows:

RULE X—ESTABLISHMENT AND JURISDICTION OF STANDING COMMITTEES

The Committees and Their Jurisdiction

- 1. There shall be in the House the following standing committees, each of which shall have the jurisdiction and related functions assigned to it by this clause and clauses 2, 3, and 4; and all bills, resolutions, and other matters relating to subjects within the jurisdiction of any standing committee as listed in this clause shall (in accordance with and subject to clause 5) be referred to such committees, as follows:
 - (d) Committee on Banking, Currency and Housing.
- (1) Banks and banking, including deposit insurance and Federal monetary policy.
- (2) Money and credit, including currency and the issuance of notes and redemption thereof; gold and silver, including the coinage thereof; valuation and revaluation of the dollar.
 - (3) Urban development.
 - (4) Public and private housing.
- (5) Economic stabilization, defense production, renegotiation, and control of the price of commodities, rents, and services.
 - (6) International finance.
- (7) Financial aid to commerce and industry (other than transportation).
 - (8) International Financial and Monetary organizations.

ENUMERATION OF SPECIFIC SUBJECTS

The committee jurisdiction as set forth in rule X is of necessity listed in general terms. An enumeration of specific subjects contained in bills referred to, or acted upon by, the committee in the past will give a better understanding of the subject matters coming within the jurisdiction of the committee. The following enumeration is not intended to be all inclusive but merely attempts to list the subjects generally. In this respect, the National Bank Act, Federal Reserve Act, Defense Production Act, Banking Acts of 1933 and 1935, National Housing Act, several sections of the Revised Statutes and other acts, all within the jurisdiction of the committee, contain a great number of provisions which are not separately enumerated. The purpose here is not to summarize the provisions of statutes emanating from the committee, nor to include the subject matter of all bills referred to the committee over the years, but only to illustrate in a more specific manner than does rule X the different subjects within the committee's jurisdiction. The enumeration follows:

Agencies and departments subject to legislative jurisdiction:

Commerce, Department of.

Council on Wage and Price Stability.

Export-Import Bank.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

Federal Preparedness Agency, General Services Administration.

Federal Reserve System.

Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.

Agencies and departments-Continued

Housing and Urban Development, Department of.

National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life.

National Credit Union Administration.

Renegotiation Board.

Treasury, Department of the:

Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency.

Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Bureau of the Mint.

Banks and banking:

Bank holding companies.

Branches of national banks.

Chartering, regulation, conservation, and liquidation of national banks.

Examination of national banks, insured banks, and Federal Reserve member banks.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Act.

Federal Reserve Act.

Foreign branches.

Insurance of bank deposits.

Interest rate ceilings.

Investments by national banks.

Mergers, consolidations, and conversions of insured banks.

National Bank Act.

Reserve requirements of Federal Reserve member banks.

Coins and coinage:

Commemorative coins.

Denominations, value, and weight of coins.

Metals used in coinage.

Proofs and mint sets and other special coins.

U.S. mints.

Creation of Government corporations:

Export-Import Bank.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

Federal National Mortgage Association.

Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.

Currency:

Counterfeiting.

Denominations, value, and designs.

Emergency powers of the President.

Issue and redemption.

Printing.

Verification and destruction.

Deposit insurance.

Economic stabilization and defense production measures:

Allocations and priorities.

Business loans.

Consumer affairs.

Credit controls:

Consumer and installment credit terms.

Real estate credit terms.

Defense Production Act.

Dispersal of defense plants.

Encouraging maximum employment.

Government requisition and condemnation of commodities and facilities.

Economic stabilization—Continued

Guarantee of bank loans.

Hearding.

Installation of Government-owned equipment in private plants.

Intergovernmental emergency assistance.

Price controls on commodities and services.

Productivity and work life quality.

Rationing.

Redevelopment of economically distressed areas.

Rent controls.

Stockpiling of raw materials.

Subsidy payments.

Voluntary agreements regarding prices, wages, service, or credit.

Wage controls.

Federal credit unions:

Chartering, regulations, examination, and supervision.

Government lending:

Defense production loans.

Export-Import Bank loans.

Flood and catastrophe loans.

Loans for college housing.

Loans for community facilities.

Loans to state and local development companies.

Loans to state and local governments.

Historic preservation:

Community development block grant funds for acquisition and preservation of historic properties.

FHA property improvement loans for financing preservation of historic structures.

Housing:

College housing.

Community development.

Federal National Mortgage Association.

FHA insurance of cooperative housing.

FHA insurance of defense housing.

FHA insurance of disaster housing.

FHA insurance of housing in urban renewal areas.

FHA insurance of military and atomic energy installation

FHA insurance of repair and improvement loans.

FHA insurance of servicemen's housing.

FHA insurance of single family, and multiple unit rental

FHA rent supplement program.

For the elderly (FHA insurance and direct loans).

HUD related research.

Low-rent public housing.

Model cities.

Open-space land program.

Rural housing.

Urban beautification.

Urban planning grants.

Insurance:

Against loss caused by war or expropriation of U.S. commodities stored abroad.

Against political and credit risks of loss arising in connection with U.S. exports.

Section 1985 Section 1985

Insurance-Continued

Against property damage caused by floods.

Crime insurance.

Disaster insurance.

Of deposits in banks.

Of share accounts in savings and loan associations.

Urban riot insurance.

International finance:

African Development Fund.

Asian Development Bank.

Balance of payments.

Bretton Woods Agreements Act.

Exchange Stabilization Fund.

Foreign investment in the U.S.

Foreign exchange.

Inter-American Development Bank.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

: "

11 19 07 7

International commodity agreements.

International Development Association.

International Finance Corporation.

International Monetary Fund.

Medals, commemorative:

Issuance and strlking.

Money and credit:

Bank reserves.

Credit terms.

Federal credit programs.

Federal guarantees and issuance.

Federal Reserve Board; Federal Reserve banks.

Federal Reserve rediscounts, rates.

Federal securities markets.

General price level.

Gold and gold standard.

Gold payments and ownership.

Interest rates.

Issue of, and reserve behind, Federal Reserve notes.

Monetary policy; coordination.

Operation of Federal Open Market Committee.

m + NO - Mir. - Inc. in the grant of

Support of Government bonds.

Valuation and revaluation of the dollar.

Renegotiation Act.

Residential mortgage credit, insurance, and guarantee:

FHA insurance programs.

Government secondary mortgage market (FNMA, FHLM Corp.,

and GNMA).

· National bank real estate loans.

Savings and loan associations:

Chartering and supervision of Federal savings and loan

Federal Home Loan Bank System.

Federal supervision.

Savings and loan holding companies.

Coinage, value and use.

THE WHITE HOUSE

a the way the second

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1977

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON EY GENERAL WITH CORETTA KING, SENTATIVES OF THE COMMITTEE CKS TO THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY FIFTH CIRCUIT

You raised a question about sevelt Room

You raised a question nomination, the Harold Murphy nomination, aret McKenna and did not sign it.

Hamilton is meeting with Judge Bell tommorrow at 2:00 to review the recommen-

Rick

June 29, 1977 (10 Minutes)

at the request of Coretta 2:00 to review the at the request of Coretta t gives you the opportunity of the Committee for the Federal Judiciary in will meet with the Attorney ave agreed to drop by for the meeting.

ND PRESS PLAN

Circuit is comprised of labama, Florida, Georgia, and Texas. We have court nominating panels.

one Fifth Western is chaired by William Harvin. Recommendations from the Western panel are being studied by Justice. The Eastern panel recommendations are expected soon.

We have two openings on the District Court level in these states. In the Northern District of Georgia (Atlanta), the two Senators set up a commission which recommended Harold Murphy, a

white male. This recommendation was approved by the Justice Department and is now in the White House. The second vacancy is in the Western District of Louisiana. No commission was created by the Senators in that area, but the two Senators forwarded three names, all of whom are white males and are now under consideration at the Justice Department.

The Judges bill in Congress, which is still a subject of negotiation between the House and Senate, would create a number of new judgeships in these six states. While it is not definite, it appears that there would be approximately 34 new positions created: Alabama (3), Florida (9), Georgia (6), Louisiana (6), Texas (10), and Mississippi (0).

- B. Participants: (see attached list.)
- C. Press Plan: Press photo opportunity. Meeting to be announced.

III. TALKING POINTS

- 1. I am in favor of merit selection appointments to the Federal judiciary. We have established nominating commissions to select circuit court judges and have encouraged Senators to do the same for the selection of District Court judges.
- 2. By Executive Order I have urged that the circuit court nominating panels give serious consideration to minorities and women.
- 3. The judges bill under consideration in the Congress should provide approximately 34 new Federal district judgeships in the Fifth Circuit and an opportunity to nominate qualified women and minorities.

PARTICIPANTS:

The Attorney General

Staff: Margaret McKenna, Bunny Mitchell

Joe L. Reed - Alabama Alvin Holmes - Alabama

Charles Cherry - Florida Ms. Gwendolyn Cherry - Florida

Sen. Horace E. Tate - Georgia Mrs. Coretta Scott King - Georgia Martin Luther King Sr. - Georgia

Henry F. Braden IV - Louisiana Alphonse Jackson, Jr. - Louisiana

Dr. Emmett C. Burns - Mississippi Dr. Aaron Henry - Mississippi

Mrs. Eddie Bernice Johnson - Texas Howard J. Middleton - Texas

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
	X	JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON

ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY REPORT
CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

П	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
W	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

BOURNE BRZEZINSKI BUTLER CARP H. CARTER CLOUGH FALLOWS FIRST LADY GAMMILL HARDEN HOYT		
BRZEZINSKI BUTLER CARP H. CARTER CLOUGH FALLOWS FIRST LADY GAMMILL HARDEN HOYT		ARAGON
BUTLER CARP H. CARTER CLOUGH FALLOWS FIRST LADY GAMMILL HARDEN HOYT		
CARP H. CARTER CLOUGH FALLOWS FIRST LADY GAMMILL HARDEN HOYT		BRZEZINSKI
H. CARTER CLOUGH FALLOWS FIRST LADY GAMMILL HARDEN HOYT		BUTLER
CLOUGH FALLOWS FIRST LADY GAMMILL HARDEN HOYT		CARP
FALLOWS FIRST LADY GAMMILL HARDEN HOYT		H. CARTER
GAMMILL HARDEN HOYT		CLOUGH
GAMMILL HARDEN HOYT		FALLOWS
HARDEN		FIRST LADY
HOYT		
		HARDEN
1 1 222200 (22200 (2220)		HOYT
HUTCHESON		HUTCHESON
JAGODA		JAGODA
KING	X	KING

KRAFT
LANCE
LINDER
MITCHELL
POSTON
PRESS
B. RAINWATER
SCHLESINGER
SCHNEIDERS
SCHULTZE
SIEGEL
SMITH
STRAUSS
WELLS
VOORDE

THE PRESIDENT HAS THEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

June 28, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

AMILTON JORDAN

SUBJECT:

LYMAN KIRKPATRICK

Admiral Turner is now ready to proceed with processing the necessary papers on Lyman Kirkpatrick, subject to your approval of his appointment to the post of Deputy Director of Central Intelligence. I recommend your approval.

APPROVE)
DISAPPROVE	_ f, (9

0

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

June 29, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE F. W.

The following is for your 2:30 meeting with Secretary Bergland.

You told Senator Melcher that Bergland will get in touch with him about wheat.

You might ask Bob how he manages his operation, organizationally. For your information, Bob is probably the smartest, most open Secretary of Agriculture in anyone's memory. His people are intensely loyal to him and it is my understanding that he operates the Department by committee system with Assistant Secretaries all having an equal vote. With him being such a nice guy he sometimes refuses to take decisive action on policy. Traditionally, the Secretary has acted as Chairman of the Board and Majority Stock Holder with his vote being the one that counts; the Under Secretary acting as Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer kicking asses in his day to day operations.

As you know, John White came in very late and has had some difficulty in achieving responsiveness from some people who traditionally would be subordinate to him. John is intensely loyal to Bergland, ran the Department while Bergland was gone for three weeks. Bob trusted him so much that he never even called to see how things were going. Quite frankly we made more progress with Agriculture appointments during those three weeks than during the previous months.

I think the question "How is your department operating?" might be enough to nudge him toward giving John a little more day-to-day authority.

ACTION	FYI	ong
-		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON

ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY REPORT
CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

_	
	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
X	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

-		
		ARAGON
		BOURNE
	1	BRZEZINSKI
		BUTLER
		CARP
		H. CARTER
		CLOUGH
		FALLOWS
		FIRST LADY
		GAMMILL
		HARDEN
		HOYT
		HUTCHESON
		JAGODA
		KING

	KRAFT
	LANCE
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	POSTON
	PRESS
	B. RAINWATER
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	SCHULTZE
	SIEGEL
	SMITH
1	STRAUSS
	WELLS
	VOORDE

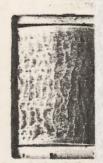
June 29, 1977

Frank Moore -

The attached letter was written by the President and is forwarded to you for delivery.

Rick Hutcheson

Letter to Senator Jackson re: Paper by Malcolm Mackintosh





6-29-77

To Scoop Jackson

The paper by Walcolm

Machintosh was very

helpful (‡ encouraging).

Thank you

Finney

OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS, THERE
HAS BEEN NO THEME I HAVE EMPHASIZED
MORE OFTEN THAN THE NEED TO REORGANIZE
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORT THE IDEA
THAT REORGANIZATION IS DESPERATELY
NEEDED -- AND THEY DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE
THE DIFFICULTY.

I HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE PROGRESS THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE

CONGRESS HAVE

CONGRESS HAVE MADE, WORKING TOGETHER, IN THE LAST FIVE MONTHS -- ESPECIALLY THE LEGISLATION I SIGNED ON APRIL 6, WHICH WILL PERMIT ME TO SUBMIT REORGANIZATION PLANS TO THE CONGRESS OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS.

ALL OF US WHO CARE ABOUT

REORGANIZATION KNOW THAT THE TASK

WILL BE A LONG ONE. IT HAS TAKEN

THESE PROBLEMS A LONG TIME TO

DEVELOP, AND WE MUST BE PATIENT IN

TAKING THE MANY STEPS -- LARGE AND

SMALL -- THAT WILL LEAD TO A MORE

EFFECTIVE, EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT.

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

WE HAVE ALREADY BEGUN SEVERAL
REORGANIZATION EFFORTS, INCLUDING A
MAJOR EFFORT ALREADY COMPLETED WITHIN
H.E.W. WE WILL ANNOUNCE MORE IN THE
WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD.

TODAY I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE
THE BEGINNING OF FOUR NEW REORGANIZATION
STUDIES. WHICH WILL HELP BRING ORDER,
SIMPLICITY, AND EFFICIENCY TO MAJOR
PARTS OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

THE FOUR AREAS WE WILL STUDY ARE:

-- LAW ENFORCEMENT;

LOCAL AND COMMUNITY

- -- LOCAL AND COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT;
 - -- HUMAN SERVICES; AND
 - -- ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES.

TOGETHER, THESE AREAS ACCOUNT
FOR \$60 BILLION OF FEDERAL SPENDING
EACH YEAR. OUR PRELIMINARY STUDIES
LNDICATE THAT WE CAN MAKE BETTER USE
OF THE TAXPAYERS' MONEY AND THE TALENTS
OF OUR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES IF WE ORGANIZE
THESE SERVICES MORE SENSIBLY.

OUR PRELIMINARY REVIEW INDICATES

THAT AT LEAST 41 SEPARATE AGENCIES ARE

INVOLVED IN POLICE AND INVESTIGATIVE ACTIVITIES; 12 SEPARATE AGENCIES ARE CONDUCTING PERSONNEL BACKGROUND INVESTIGATIONS; AND 36 SEPARATE AGENCIES HAVE GUARD OR SECURITY FORCES -- FOR A TOTAL COST PER YEAR OF ABOUT \$2.5 BILLION.

IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AREA ALONE THERE ARE 23 DIFFERENT FEDERAL POLICE FORCES.

A DIFFRENT STUDY SHOWS THAT

A WELFARE MOTHER WITH TWO
CHILDREN MAY HAVE TO DEAL WITH II
DIFFERENT AGENCIES TO GET THE
SERVICES SHE NEEDS. IF AN ELDERLY

PERSON LIVES WITH

PERSON LIVES WITH HER, THERE ARE SEVERAL ADDITIONAL AGENCIES, THE FAMILY MUST DEAL WITH.

IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

WE NOW HAVE MORE THAN 100
PROGRAMS, IN 10 DIFFERENT AGENCIES,
ALL WORKING TO PROMOTE BUSINESS IN
LOCAL AREAS -- BUT DOING SO IN A
WASTEFUL, UNCOORDINATED WAY.

THERE ARE 46 FEDERAL SEWER PROGRAMS.

NO ONE -- EITHER IN OR OUT OF GOVERNMENT -- BENEFITS FROM THIS KIND OF CONFUSION. ALL OF US WILL

PROFIT FROM A MORE SENSIBLE, EFFICIENT ORGANIZATION.

THESE STUDIES WILL TAKE FROM
FIVE TO NINE MONTHS. THEIR SUCCESS
WILL DEPEND ON HOW CLOSELY WE CAN
INVOLVE THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS,
OFFICIALS OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS,
AND PRIVATE CITIZENS FROM EVERY PART
OF THE COUNTRY.

I BELIEVE IT IS ESPECIALLY
IMPORTANT TO GET THE ADVICE OF
CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS ABOUT
WAYS OUR FEDERAL PROGRAMS GO WRONG.

AS LEGISLATORS,

AS LEGISLATORS, THEY SPEND A GOOD PART OF EACH DAY HELPING PEOPLE CUT THROUGH GOVERNMENT RED TAPE, AND THEY KNOW FIRST-HAND HOW THE GOVERNMENT LOOKS FROM THE RECEIVING END.

1.4. T

ON THE DAY, I ANNOUNCED MY

CAMPAIGN FOR THIS OFFICE, I PLEDGED

TO UNDERTAKE THIS MAJOR TASK. AT

THAT TIME I SAID:

'THIS IS NO JOB FOR
THE FAINTHEARTED. IT WILL
BE MET WITH VIOLENT OPPOSITION

FROM THOSE WHO NOW ENJOY A
SPECIAL PRIVILEGE, THOSE
WHO PREFER TO WORK IN THE
DARK, OR THOSE WHOSE PRIVATE
FIEFDOMS ARE THREATENED.

AT HEART, AND I STILL INTEND TO HONOR

1.1.1 THAT PLEDGE.

I LOOK FORWARD TO THE COOPERATION
OF EVERYONE INVOLVED -- THE CONGRESS,
FEDERAL EMPLOYEES, AND THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE -- TO MOVE TOWARD THE GOAL
WE ALL SHARE.

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

Me Pres. you ADD REDRES. July

THE

I AM PARTICULARLY PLEASED BY THE ACTION THIS AFTERNOON IN THE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE. THEY ACCEPTED BY A CLOSE VOTE THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL WHICH RETAINS CEILINGS FOR NATURAL GAS PRICES BUT STILL PROVIDES SUBSTANTIAL INCENTIVES FOR INCREASED PRODUCTION.

THE FIGHT IS STILL NOT OVER BUT I CONGRATULATE THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THEIR COURAGE IN
THE FACE OF STRONG LOBBYING PRESSURE,
AND I HOPE THEIR POSITION WILL BE
MAINTAINED AS THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS
CONTINUES. THEIR ACTION WAS A VICTORY
FOR AMERICAN CONSUMERS.

Nixon pages Surther > US Marshall - H. Taylor > Consusative spending TRIS ban - Cont hodands Centralized marshells > Mid East > Califono - statements > Public wants coop > Too many foreign inchiating > Berlin NH > ERDA disloyalty > PRC - August > Seabrook - Wheat famen worn it - Vareforg & Sen Mid & I ky Disester machinery

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

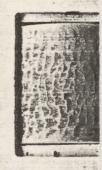
June 29, 1977

Frank Moore

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Call to Congressman Marc Marks





THE WHITE HOUSE

June 29, 1977

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

done

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

FRANK MOORE J. M.

Congressman Marc Marks (R-Pa) is still shaky on future votes in the Commerce Committee. Congressmen John Dingell (D-Mich) and Albert Gore (D-Tenn), et al, suggest that a thank-you telephone call from you will steady his nerves and keep him voting with us. Congressman Marks is still receiving much pressure from the leadership of the Republican Party.

Marks' telephone number is 225-5406.

This call could be made as late as 10:00 a.m. tomorrow.

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

June 29, 1977

Frank Moore -

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Calls to Ralph Metcalfe and Marty Russo

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 29, 1977



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE

It is now critical that you make two telephone calls before 9:30 a.m. this morning. The House Commerce Committee will convene this morning at 9:30 and will vote on deregulation.

RALPH METCALFE -- Needs to be a-sured that we will do better down in the future at consulting him on political problems.

Telephone #: 225-4372.

MARTY RUSSO -- He telephoned me this morning saying that he had to talk to you before 9:30 a.m. -- the call is "critical as to what I will do this morning." Telephone #: 225-5736.

not

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 27, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The President

FROM:

Jack Watson Jach

SUBJECT:

Your visit with Secretary Bergland

and his top Assistants Wednesday, June 29, 1977 2:30-2:45 p.m. Cabinet Room

Secretary Bergland requested this time for you to meet his top assistants. They are:

John C. White Deputy Secretary

Dale E. Hathaway Assistant Secretary for International Affairs and Commodity Programs

M. Rupert Cutler Assistant Secretary for Conservation, Research, and Education

Robert H. Meyer Assistant Secretary for Marketing Services

> **Electrostatic Copy Made** for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1977

- C

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE

The following are those Members of the House who should be notified of your decision on the B-1 bomber:

Speaker
Mahon (Chairman of the Military Appropriations Subcommittee
as well as full Committee)

Mel Price Zablocki

Incidentally, defense appropriations was not finished yesterday. The House will go into session tomorrow at 10:00 a.m. and plans to be finished by 5:00 p.m. There are still 4 or 5 pending amendments that could be affected by your decision should you decide to cut back below the Carter budget of 5 planes.

If your decision goes up to the Ford budget of 8 planes, it will probably generate an amendment on the vote for final passage under general provisions prohibiting any funds being appropriated for the B-1. Mahon can handle this.

Those in the Senate who should be notified are:

Byrd Cranston Stennis McClellan Culver

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

THE PRESUDER HAS SELIT.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

200 pM

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

LANDON BUTLE

DATE:

JUNE 28, 1977

SUBJECT:

MEETING WITH OHIO AFL-CIO LEADERS WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29, 1977, at 2:00pm

BACKGROUND

Milan Marsh, President, Ohio AFL-CIO, and Warren Smith, Secretary-Treasurer, Ohio AFL-CIO, are in Washington for the state federation's Executive Board Meeting. They will be coming by to see you for a brief photo session and handshake. The appointment is for five minutes only.

The Ohio AFL-CIO, one of labor's most effective political organizations, worked hard for you during the general election campaign. Warren Smith was particularly helpful. Both men should be thanked for their support.

While no matters of substance will be raised, you should know that Warren Smith worked effectively to bring about the passage of Ohio's new voter registration law and you may want to congratulate him on his efforts.

PARTICIPANTS

Milan Marsh, President, Ohio AFL-CIO

Warren Smith, Secretary-Treasurer, Ohio AFL-CIO

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 27, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

Jack Watson fach

SUBJECT:

Your visit with Secretary Bergland

and his top Assistants Wednesday, June 29, 1977

2:30-2:45 p.m. Cabinet Room

Secretary Bergland requested this time for you to meet his top assistants. They are:

John C. White Deputy Secretary

Dale E. Hathaway Assistant Secretary for International Affairs and Commodity Programs

M. Rupert Cutler Assistant Secretary for Conservation, Research, and Education

Robert H. Meyer Assistant Secretary for Marketing Services

> **Electrostatic Copy Made** for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1977

Mr. President:

Attached is the revised tax reform memorandum. I understand that Mike and Larry have talked with Joe Pechman and are generally familiar with his views. For that reason and to avoid unduly committing you to specific packages, I would like to suggest that I might just communicate your interest in Package A or B, without integration, to Mike and Larry in a telephone call.

Stu Eizenstat

Attachment

June 29, 1977

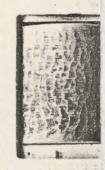
Stu Eizenstat Hamilton Jordan Jack Watson

Re: Tax Reform

The attached was returned in the President's outbox and is forwarded to you for your information and appropriate action.

The original memorandum was sent to Secretary Blumenthal with a copy to Assistant Secretary Woodworth.

Rick Hutcheson





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR:

SECRETARY BLUMENTHAL
ASSISTANT SECRETARY WOODWORTH

SUBJECT:

Tax Reform

Your presentations on tax reform have been very informative and helpful. I am pleased that you are reaching out broadly to obtain a wide range of views. Since our last session, I have considered many of the issues you have raised. As you continue to develop our program, I hope you will take into account the following general principles:

- 1. The program should be more progressive. Specifically:
 - (a) Greater tax reductions should be provided for middle income taxpayers so that the relative share of the overall tax burden borne by the middle This must be class is reduced.

 (b) The average taxes paid by individuals in the
 - (b) The average taxes paid by individuals in the \$50,000 and over brackets should be maintained at about their present levels or reduced only slightly -- with the saving in revenues distributed to low and middle income taxpayers.
- 2. Please attempt to identify more tax preferences that we can eliminate.
- 3. Please make additional efforts to achieve simplicity for the average taxpayer. Consideration should be given to encouraging reduced use of itemized deductions either through a lower rate schedule for those who do not itemize or a reasonable floor on itemized deductions.

I have discussed this subject with Stu and asked him to be in touch with you - including abandoning The idea of Corporate for integration -

I would like everyone involved in the tax reform effort to be very cautious in making public statements about our proposals, particularly those regarding any net revenue loss or rate reductions. I am concerned that continued discussion of these items will divert the attention of the public and Congress from the difficult issue of tax reform to the easy one of tax cuts and rate reductions.

Timmy Carter

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
	1	EIZENSTAT
	8	JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
	1	POWELL
	CK	WATSON
	-	

ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY REPORT
CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
V	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

	ARAGON
	BOURNE
X	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	GAMMILL
	HARDEN
	HOYT
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	KING

	KRAFT
14	LANCE
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	POSTON
	PRESS
	B. RAINWATER
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	SCHULTZE
	SIEGEL
	SMITH
7	STRAUSS
	WELLS
	VOORDE

June 29, 1977

The Vice President
Midge Costanza
Stu Eizenstat
Hamilton Jordan
Bob Lipshutz
Frank Moore
Jody Powell
Jack Watson
Z. Brzezinski
Bert Lance

Re: Budget Issues

For your information the attached letter was signed by the President and given to Bob Linder for distribution to departments and agencies.

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

THE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FEDERAL ENERGY ADMINISTRATION

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

THE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS

During the last few weeks, I have discussed significant budget issues with each of you and the Office of Management and Budget. Those meetings were helpful to me in understanding some of our common concerns as we prepare the 1979 budget.

At the conclusion of those meetings, I reviewed alternative spending totals for your agencies in relation to the economic outlook and my commitment to balance the budget in 1981. Based on that review, I have set 1979 budget planning ceilings for each of your agencies. Bert Lance will give you those planning ceilings in a letter that will include general budget guidance as well.

I expect you to develop your budget proposals on a zero-base approach within the planning ceilings. If you determine that you must make budget recommendations that exceed the ceilings, then those recommendations must have a zero-base ranking below any proposals included within the ceilings. Because the 1979 budget will determine our ability to achieve budget balance in 1981, I urge you to consider carefully any lower priority proposals outside the ceiling and to avoid them unless the need is quite clear.

Timeny Carter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

THE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FEDERAL ENERGY ADMINISTRATION

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

THE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

THE ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS

During the last few weeks, I have discussed significant budget issues with each of you and the Office of Management and Budget. Those meetings were helpful to me in understanding some of our common concerns as we prepare the 1979 budget.

At the conclusion of those meetings, I reviewed alternative spending totals for your agencies in relation to the economic outlook and my commitment to balance the budget in 1981. Based on that review, I have set 1979 budget planning ceilings for each of your agencies. Bert Lance will give you those planning ceilings in a letter that will include general budget guidance as well.

I expect you to develop your budget proposals on a zero-base approach within the planning ceilings. If you determine that you must make budget recommendations that exceed the ceilings, then those recommendations must have a zero-base ranking below any proposals included within the ceilings. Because the 1979 budget will determine our ability to achieve budget balance in 1981, I urge you to consider carefully any lower priority proposals outside the ceiling and to avoid them unless the need is quite clear.

Timeny Carter

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1977

BREAKFAST WITH SENATORS

Wednesday, June 29, 1977 8:00 a.m. (60 minutes) Roosevelt Room

From: Frank Moore \(\frac{\beta}{N} \end{array}.

I. PURPOSE

To meet with both Democratic and Republican Senators.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: This is the third breakfast meeting with Senators. The group again represents a cross section of the Senate--a member of the leadership; junior and senior Senators; committee chairmen; liberals, moderates, conservatives.
- B. Participants: The President; Vice President;
 Senators Joseph R. Biden, Jr., John Durkin,
 James Eastland, Wendell Ford, Walter Huddleston,
 John Melcher, Robert Morgan, Jennings Randolph,
 Paul Sarbanes, Harrison A. Williams, Jr.; Frank
 Moore, Dan Tate, Bob Thomson, Bill Smith.
- C. Press Plan: White House Photo.

III. TALKING POINTS

- A. As before, no agenda was prepared in order to allow for candid, open-ended conversation between you and the Senators.
- B. Attached is a biographical sketch on each of the Senators who will be attending this breakfast. We have also indicated, where appropriate, some of their current interests.

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR. (D-Delaware); lst term (1978); born November 20, 1942, Scranton, Pennsylvania; Catholic; three children by deceased first wife; recently remarried (Jill); J.D., Syracuse University College of Law; private practice, 1968-72; New Castle County Council, 1970-72; elected to U.S. Senate, 1972.

Chairman, Subcommittee on European Affairs (Committee on Foreign Relations); Chairman, Subcommittee on Penitentiaries and Corrections (Committee on the Judiciary); Chairman, Ad Hoc Working Group on Secrecy and Disclosure

(Select Committee on Intelligence).

He is currently concerned about the busing issue.

JOHN A. DURKIN (D-New Hampshire); 1st term (1980); born March 29, 1936; Brookfield, Massachusetts; married (Pat); three children; Georgetown University Law Center, 1965; U.S. Navy, 1959-61; Assistant Attorney General, 1967-68;

elected to U.S. Senate, 1975.

Senator Durkin is concerned with the appointment for the 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals. He claims that he and Senator McIntyre were told by Justice that you wanted to appoint a Puerto Rican to fill the current vacancy. This seat has traditionally been filled by someone from either New Hampshire or Rhode Island.

JAMES O. EASTLAND (D-Mississippi); 6th term (1978); born November 28, 1904, Doddsville, Mississippi; Methodist; married (Elizabeth); three children; LL.B., University of Alabama, 1927; State House of Representatives, 1928-32; appointed to U.S. Senate, 1941.

Chairman, Subcommittee on Environment, Soil Conservation and Forestry (Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry); Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary; Chairman, Subcommittee on Immigration (Committee on the Judiciary).

Senator Eastland is interested in the issue of

undocumented aliens.

WENDELL H. FORD (D-Kentucky); 1st term (1980); born September 8, 1924, Owensboro, Kentucky; Baptist; married (Jean); two children; Maryland School of Insurance, 1947; U.S. Army, 1944-46; Kentucky National Guard, 1949-62; State Senate, 1965-67; Lt. Governor, 1967-71; Governor, 1971-74; chairman, National Democratic Governors' Caucus, 1973-74; member, Carter-Mondale Steering Committee and chairman of the National Democratic Campaign Committee, 1976; Kentucky Agriculture Man of the Year, 1973; elected to U.S. Senate, 1974.

Chairman, Subcommittee on the Consumer (Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation); Chairman, Democratic

Senatorial Campaign Committee.

The Senator is interested in the strip mining legislation which is now in conference. He is particularly concerned with the loopholes for Appalachian operators (small operators exemption and allowing retention of "high walls"). He is pleased with the efforts to allocate time for 78 campaigns.

WALTER D. HUDDLESTON (D-Kentucky); 1st term (1978); born April 15, 1926, Elizabethtown, Kentucky; Methodist; married (Martha Jean); two children; B.A., University of Kentucky, 1949; U.S. Army, 1944-46; State Senate, 1965; general manager, radio station WIEL, Elizabethtown, Kentucky, 1952-72; Outstanding Young Man of Elizabethtown, 1960; elected U.S. Senate, 1972.

Chairman, Subcommittee on Agricultural Production,
Marketing, and Stabilization of Prices (Committee on
Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry); Chairman, Subcommittee on the Legislative (Committee on Appropriations);
Chairman, Subcommittee on Charters and Guidelines (Select
Committee on Intelligence)

Committee on Intelligence).

The Senator is concerned with the delay in appointments.

JOHN MELCHER (D-Montana); 1st term (1982); born September 6, 1942, Sioux City, Iowa; married (Ruth); five children; U.S. Army, 1943-45, awarded Purple Heart and Combat Infantryman's Badge; Iowa State University, 1950, veterinary medicine; mayor of Forsyth, Montana, 1957-60; State Representative, 1960; State Senate, 1962-67; U.S. House of Representatives,

1969-76; elected to U.S. Senate, 1976.

Senator Melcher has been critical, at times, of the Administration's failure to respond promptly to his letters. He is interested in the strip mining legislation and has sponsored a compromise on alluvial valley floors which we supported. The Senator has also sponsored a bill to allow for oral bidding in timber sales. This legislation was necessary because the Department of Agriculture ruled that current law required sealed bidding. The Washington Post has attacked Melcher's bill as encouraging collusion among timber interests.

ROBERT C. MORGAN (D-North Carolina); 1st term (1980); born October 5, 1925; Lillington, North Carolina; Baptist; married (Katie); three children; LL.B., J.D., Wake Forest College, 1950; U.S. Navy, WW II and Korean Conflict; U.S. Air Force Reserves; State Legislature, 1955-57, 1959-61, 1963-68; Attorney General, 1969-74; elected to U.S. Senate, 1974.

Chairman, Subcommittee on Rural Housing (Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs); Chairman, Subcommittee on Special Investigations (Select Committee on Intelligence).

Senator Morgan is currently undecided on the issue of public financing and may be a key vote on a cloture for this bill. The Senator may also be a strong ally for Robert McKinney in his hearings before the Banking Committee. Morgan has an interest in a savings and loan association.

JENNINGS RANDOLPH (D-West Virginia); 3rd term (1978); born March 8, 1902, Salem, West Virginia; Baptist; married (Mary); two children; A.B., Salem College, 1924; newspaper and magazine editor; college professor; university dean; U.S. House of Representatives, 1932-46; elected to U.S. Senate, 1958.

Chairman, Committee on Environment and Public Works; Chairman, Subcommittee on Handicapped (Committee on Human Resources).

PAUL S. SARBANES (D-Maryland); 1st term (1982); born February 3, 1933, Salisbury, Maryland; Greek Orthodox; married (Christine); three children; A.B., Princeton University, 1954, magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa; Rhodes Scholar, Oxford, England, 1954-57; LL.B., cum laude, Harvard Law School, 1960; practiced law, 1965-70; administative assistant to Walter W. Heller, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1962-63; Maryland House of Delegates, 1967-71; U.S. House of Representatives, 1971-76; elected to U.S. Senate, 1976.

Chairman, Subcommittee on Federal Credit Programs (Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs); Chairman, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs (Committee on

Foreign Relations).

Senator Sarbanes is very concerned about the Panama Treaty, but supportive. He has some advice on how to proceed in the Senate on this issue.

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR. (Pete) (D-New Jersey); 4th term (1982); born December 10, 1919, Plainfield, New Jersey; Presbyterian; LL.B., Columbia Law School, 1948; U.S. Naval Reserve; U.S. Navy pilot; Father Raymond A. McGowan Award presented by the National Council for the Spanish-Speaking, 1963; Award of Merit, presented by the Federal Administrative Law Judges Conference, 1976; U.S. House of Representatives, 1955-57; elected to U.S. Senate, 1958.

Chairman, Subcommittee on Securities (Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs); Chairman, Committee on Human Resources; Chairman, Subcommittee on Labor

(Committee on Human Resources).

Senator Williams is very interested in minimum wages, as well as the U.S. Attorney appointment which has been

widely publicized (Robert del Tufo).

Senator Williams is appearing on "Good Morning America" at 7:45 a.m. on Wednesday and will be about ten minutes late for the breakfast. He will be talking about Occupational Diseases. Hearings on now being held on this issue before the Human Resources Committee.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
	X	EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
	X	LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
	X	WATSON

and the same of th
ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY REPORT
CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

П	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ARAGON
BOURNE
BRZEZINSKI
BUTLER
CARP
H. CARTER
CLOUGH
FALLOWS
FIRST LADY
GAMMILL
HARDEN
HOYT
HUTCHESON
JAGODA
KING

	KRAFT
	LANCE
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	POSTON
	PRESS
	B. RAINWATER
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	SCHULTZE
	SIEGEL
	SMITH
	STRAUSS
	WELLS
	VOORDE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1977

Stu Eizenstat Bob Lipshutz Jack Watson

Re: TWA Inc. Docket 31016

For your information the President signed the attached letter to Chairman Kahn disapproving the Board's order and requesting completion of the investigation within 90 days.

Rick Hutcheson

ariginal to Bob Lindled

THE WHITE HOUSE

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have reviewed, pursuant to section 801(b) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended, your proposed order dated June 20, 1977, cancelling after investigation cargo advance purchase rates filed by Trans World Airlines, Inc., Docket 31016. Upon review, I have decided to overturn the Board's decision for reasons related to our foreign economic policy thereby allowing the rates at issue to be available during the pendency of the investigation. That investigation should be expedited and concluded in 90 days.

Sincerely,

Honorable Alfred E. Kahn Chairman Civil Aeronautics Board Washington, D.C. 20428

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

TION	17	
AC	F	
-		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
-		EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
	X	LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON

<u> </u>
ENROLLED BILL
AGENCY REPORT
CAB DECISION
EXECUTIVE ORDER
Comments due to
Carp/Huron within
48 hours; due to
Staff Secretary
next day

П	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
W	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ARAGON
BOURNE
BRZEZINSKI
BUTLER
CARP
H. CARTER
CLOUGH
FALLOWS
FIRST LADY
GAMMILL
HARDEN
HOYT
HUTCHESON
JAGODA
KING

	KRAFT
	LANCE
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	POSTON
	PRESS
	B. RAINWATER
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	SCHULTZE
	SIEGEL
	SMITH
1	STRAUSS
	WELLS
	VOORDE
The real Property lies	A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH

\$6/09/17

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BOB LIPSHUTZ

SUBJECT:

Executive Order Entitled

"Exemption of Arthur S. Flemming

from Mandatory Retirement"

Under the law Federal employees with 15 years of service must retire upon reaching 70 unless exempted by the President. The attached order, which was originally proposed by Secretary Califano, exempts Arthur Flemming, HEW's Commissioner on Aging, from the statutory mandatory retirement provision.

This order, which has been approved by OMB and Justice, should be signed by June 30.

We recommend that you sign the attached order.

Approve

Disapprove

F

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1977

MEETING WITH C.G. "MOOSE" MOREHEAD

Wednesday, June 29, 1977 9:15 a.m. (5 minutes)
Oval Office

From: Frank Moore J.M.

I. PURPOSE

To sign a painting Mr. Morehead did.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: Senator Wendell Ford personally requested that you sign a painting done by Mr. Morehead, who is from the Senator's home town of Owensboro. Mr. Morehead is an excellent artist and used peanut butter mixed in his colors to do this painting. He plans to auction the painting to the highest bidder on the condition that all proceeds go to the charity of the bidder's choice.
- B. Participants: The President
 Senator Wendell Ford
 Mr. C.G. "Moose" Morehead
 Frank Moore
 Dan Tate
- C. Press Plan: White House Photo.

III. TALKING POINTS

Routine courtesy.

NOTE: This would be a good opportunity for you to thank Senator Ford for his help on the Masa transfer which passed yesterday.

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

June 29, 1977

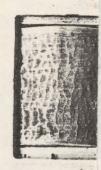
Z. Brzezinski -

Re: Soviet Foreign Policy in the Current Phase

The attached was returned in the President's outbox and is forwarded to you for your information and sending to Secretary Vance.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Hamilton Jordan Frank Moore





ROOM 137
RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ce Cy

June 27, 1977

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I want to be sure you do not miss seeing the enclosed paper on Soviet Foreign Policy in the Current Phase by Malcolm Mackintosh, chief British analyst of Soviet policy in the Cabinet Office, Whitehall, London.

Over the years I have found Malcolm Mackintosh extraordinarily perceptive in interpreting the Soviet scene. We have wished we could have him testify before our Congressional committees, but he continues to be deeply involved on the intelligence side as adviser to the British Cabinet. We are fortunate that he writes and lectures from time to time.

The enclosed text is a lecture given on May 13 at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. You may find of special interest his views on Brezhnev, the Soviet military leadership and SALT summarized in paragraphs 10-14.

Sincerely yours,

Henry M. Jackson, U.S.S.

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY IN THE CURRENT PHASE

Introduction

- 1. The aim of my talk today is to have a look at the main features of Soviet foreign policy in the present phase against the background of what may be called the "constant factors" (to use a Stalinist term) of the foreign relations of the Soviet Union as a super power with a strong sense of political mission. In discussing Soviet foreign policy I include the strongly traditionalist element in Soviet thinking, the role of ideology in the minds of the present Soviet leadership, the importance to them of military power, and the needs of the Soviet economy, as well as Soviet internal policies.
- 2. At the same time I would like to see if there are any significant changes of emphasis in Soviet foreign policy in the present phase which we can legitimately describe as new; and, if so, what is their likely importance in Soviet thinking in a period of political, economic and military negotiations between East and West, and a wide range of Soviet activities in various parts of the world.

The "Constant Factors"

3. At the risk of some degree of over-simplification, I would like to begin by recalling what I think have been regarded in Moscow as the "constant factors" in Soviet foreign policy since the Soviet Union became a super power in the late 1960s. First priority in Soviet thinking must, I believe, go to the protection of the Soviet Homeland and its allies from political, ideological or military dangers: Although some of the responsibilities here involved are connected with foreign policy, most are in the hands of the CPSU, the KGB and the armed forces. I would put the relationship with the United States in second place, as the only other power in the world with

greater military and much greater economic strength than the Soviet Union. The Russians see their relationship with the United States as being in a very special category. Apart from the fundamental rivalries involved, it is primarily concerned with protecting and, if possible, advancing their super power status; but it is also concerned with trade and the acquisition of technology, and with some forms of crisis management alongside the United States.

- 4. The third "constant factor" is the Soviet confrontation with the West in Europe. Europe is the traditional area of Russian foreign policy, and since the mid-1960s, Soviet policy, against the background of preserving Soviet control over Eastern Europe and maintaining, and improving Soviet and Warsaw Pact military strength, has been directed towards formalising its position in Europe and, through negotiations, agreements and treaties, opening up or exploiting opportunities for increasing Soviet influence in Western Europe.
- 5. The fourth "constant factor" is the Soviet relationship with China: in many ways, Russia's bitterest enemy, with a population already over three times that of the Soviet Union, a 4,000-mile frontier partially, at least, disputed by the Chinese, and a fundamentally different interpretation of communism from that advanced by Moscow as the only true Marxist-Leninist doctrine.
- 6. Finally, in this brief list of "constant factors" in Soviet foreign policy I would place the efforts, on a largely opportunistic basis, of the Soviet Union to pursue active policies in areas of the world where the situation may offer the Soviet Union a chance to be present, exert influence, or at least have a say in the way in which events should develop politically, ideologically or perhaps militarily. I believe that this potentially wide-

ranging element in Soviet foreign policy is particularly associated with the Soviet Union's growing naval strength on a global basis; but it is political, ideological and economic as well as military in character. The important point is that it is seen in Moscow as an integral part of the role of a super power. It is for this reason that I have added it to the list of "constant factors" in Soviet foreign policy today.

New Elements in Soviet Foreign Policy

- 7. Soviet foreign policy is, of course, frequently unpredictable, and dependent on the Soviet leaders' reaction to unexpected or unplanned crises or events overseas. What Soviet leader, for example, would have predicted the present nature of the Sino-Soviet dispute in 1950 or the present state of Soviet-Egyptian relations in 1969 or 1970? While I would like to put forward one or two new aspects of current Soviet foreign policy, I do believe that such trends are really part of the "constant factors" I have mentioned. I think we are perhaps looking at new emphases, new timing, and new senses of priority within the "constant factors", rather than any basic change in the factors or their role in Soviet policy planning.
- 8. My first choice of a new element in Soviet foreign policy is related to the state of the present Soviet leadership, which has been in power for nearly 13 years although many of its members held similar posts in the upper echelons of the Soviet hierarchy under Khrushchev, or even under Stalin. Brezhnev was President of the USSR before he became General Secretary of the CPSU in 1964. Of the 15 voting (i.e. full) members of the Politburo, 8 are 70 years of age or over, and 4 of the remainder are in their late 60s. I do not want to exaggerate the way in which age plays a part in the selection or retention of personalities in important posts. But it is a fact that when the Soviet Prime Minister, Alexei Kosygin, was taken ill last year, a new First Deputy Premier was nominated to share some of his

responsibilities: Nikolai Tikhonov, aged 71. Brezhnev's apparent deputy as General Secretary of the CPSU, Andrei Kirilenko, is also 71. A recent law passed in the Soviet Union allows Marshals, Generals and Admirals to be excused the official retirement age of 65; and there are, of course, a number of key military figures over that age anyway, including Admiral Gorshkov, who has been C-in-C of the Navy for 21 years. Perhaps on a more trivial note, you may recall that when Kirilenko was awarded his order of Lenin for his 70th birthday, he thanked the Party and Government for helping him successfully to reach middle-age!

- 9. It is clear that Brezhnev and his contemporaries in this age group, Kosygin, Podgorny, Suslov, Ponomarev, and Kirilenko, as well as the Defence Minister, Ustinov (who is 68), and others, are conscious that they are in their final years as the collective leadership of the Soviet Union. No doubt their minds are, among other things, occupied with arrangements for the succession. It is very hard to speculate with any degree of conviction on what such arrangements might amount to, except to assume the existence of plans for an orderly and stable transfer of power, initially, at least, to an interim leadership of roughly the same age group, and with the same background and experience as the present Soviet rulers in Moscow. But it is my view that even more important in the minds of the present leadership is the need to complete, or set a seal on, their foreign policy achievements over the last 12 or 13 years by formalising them in treaties or agreements, by coming to acceptable terms with their rivals in the outside world on other issues and by ensuring that none of the Soviet Union's most important options in any part of the world are undermined or seriously reduced.
- 10. I believe that in Brezhnev's view, in particular, the main priority in this final or terminal period of his rule is the completion and formalization of his bilateral relationship with the United States. This priority is primarily concerned with the defence relationship, but its

economic, commercial and technological aspects should not be underestimated, nor should the Soviet Union's interest in involvement in crisis control with the United States be ignored in this phase. One of the most interesting pieces of evidence of Brezhnev's pre-occupation with the defence relationship with the United States in this period is, in my view, the way in which he has formalised his domination of the Soviet military establishment in the last year or two, and brought up to the highest positions in the Ministry of Defence men whose experience and expertise have been in the field of strategic weapons and advanced military technology.

Let me explain what I mean. The General Secretary of the CPSU has, of course, always played a determining role in military affairs in the USSR. But some two years ago, Brezhnev, then a wartime Lieutenant-General (Political), promoted himself to be a 4-star Army-General. In late 1975, Brezhnev's chairmanship of the Soviet Union's highest defence committee, the Defence Council, was announced in Moscow; and, just over a year ago, on the death of his old wartime colleague, Marshal Grechko, the Minister of Defence, Brezhnev chose Dmitri Ustinov, a civilian armaments expert for over 30 years to succeed him: most of Ustinov's recent work has been in the field of strategic weapons design and production, and his expertise makes him a most appropriate Minister of Defence in the crucial period of the current strategic arms limitation talks with the United States. Moreover it is not by chance (as the Russians say) that according to press reports at the time, the newly-appointed Chief of the Soviet General Staff, Nikolai Ogarkov, was the senior Soviet military delegate to the SALT I talks from 1969 to 1972. Brezhnev, as you know, also promoted himself Marshal of the Soviet Union, and has given this rank to both Ustinov and Ogarkov; so I would submit that Brezhnev has not only taken over SALT as his highest priority in foreign affairs, (although he frequently participated in the most important meetings

in the past) but has appointed a new Soviet military leadership whose experience and expertise is associated with the strategic weapons now under negotiation in the strategic arms limitation talks.

- 12. The new Brezhnev commitment to securing the best possible agreement with the United States on strategic weapons coincided, of course, with last year's Presidential election campaign in the United States, and the election and later inauguration of President Carter and the new Administration. As you know, one of the first major missions of the new Secretary of State, Mr. Vance, was to visit Moscow and present the Russians with a package of SALT II proposals, which the Americans hoped would lead to Soviet counter-proposals and a useful dialogue leading to a SALT II treaty. The Russians, however, rejected the package without offering counter-proposals; and the Secretary of State left Moscow with only an agreement to discuss SALT again in Geneva this month. According to many reports, the American package was rejected out of hand and in an atmosphere of anger and irritation on the Soviet side.
- 13. The details of the SALT negotiations and of the Secretary of State's visit to Moscow are beyond the scope of a general talk on Soviet foreign policy. All I would like to add to what has been widely discussed in the West is that I believe that the Russians did a lot of homework on the new Administration's thinking before the Secretary of State's visit, and got it wrong. They came to the conclusion that President Carter simply wanted to update the November 1974 Vladivostok Accord by about 10 or 15 per cent; that whatever other concessions it made, the Soviet Union would be able to retain and benefit from its existing force levels of very large strategic missiles, such as the SS-18, which were brand new in 1974; and that the United States would be ready to abandon the MX project, the B-1 bomber and limit the numbers of air-launched cruise missiles. In fact, the Americans offered a detailed package containing, in the Soviet view, none of these concessions; in

addition, it was too complex for the Russians to absorb quickly; the timelimit for agreeing to use it as a basis for negotiation was too short; among
the proposals they did understand was that the main Soviet reduction was to be
made in their force of very large land-based missiles. So the Russians
rejected the whole proposal; and, as a purely personal comment on their reasons
for doing so in anger, I believe that the Soviet leadership felt that they had
been "misled", partly at least by their own advisers on American policy. I
personally do not think it was due to President Carter's statements on human
rights. I think their conclusions on the new Administration's views on SALT
led them to expect the Secretary of State to bring a very different set of
proposals to Moscow to the one he actually offered as a basis for discussion.

- 14. The rejection by Brezhnev and his colleagues of the Secretary of State's proposals does not, in my view, reduce the importance of a SALT II agreement with the United States in their eyes in this their final period of office.

 And I expect that in one forum or another the Russians will try to secure terms which they can accept, perhaps in a series of separate and more limited sessions, such as that which began this week in Geneva, until a complete treaty can be drafted. I believe that this is the most important issue for the Russians in the present phase of their foreign and defence policy, and takes priority over the other elements in the Soviet Union's "constant factors."
- 15. Second among these "constant factors" remains, I believe, the confrontation with the West in Europe. I mentioned earlier that the basis of Soviet policy in Europe is the retention of their political control over Eastern Europe and the continuing improvement of their military power on the Continent. Since they assumed the role of a super power in the late 1960s the Russians have tried to create machinery in European relations designed to give them what they have long believed they deserve and have been deprived of by history: real influence over the whole of the European peninsula. This was the tenor of their original

agenda for the CSCE; and although they gave up their suggestion for an All-European Commission through which they might have tried to achieve this influence over Western Europe during the CSCE negotiations, I think they may return to it at some future stage in the continuing process of East-West negotiations in Europe.

- 16. I believe that the Soviet leaders consider that, with one exception, the Final Act of the CSCE, signed in Helsinki in 1975, satisfied many of their initial aims in Europe. This is especially true of the item on the frontiers and status of European countries, which, among other things, formalised the division of Germany: a basic goal of Soviet post-war policies. The exception is Basket 3, on human contacts and the exchange of information. The Russians never really wanted this Basket in the CSCE, but feared that if it was rejected, the West might withdraw from the whole conference. In any case, they believed that they and their East European allies could quickly stifle any "wrongful exploitation" of Basket 3's terms at home, and try to discourage Western use of the item in pursuit of their interests.
- 17. As we have seen, however, in the Soviet Union, in Czechoslovakia, East Germany and other East European countries, small groups or individuals have pinned their criticism of their regimes on Basket 3, and Western public opinion has taken up their cause with interest, and in some cases, calls for governmental action. The Soviet Union has been thrown off balance and is on the defensive; not so much on human rights and dissent as such, but the way in which dissenters have linked their views to Basket 3. I believe that the Russians have by no means recovered their balance on the human rights issue; they are not sure, for example, how much influence the issue will have in the future on inter-governmental talks. It is true that they and their allies, in dealing with dissenters, have resorted to expulsion, intimidation and even arrest, but the process is erratic and unpredictable, and it is

hard to guess how the Russians will try to solve the problem with minimum damage to their foreign policy goals, especially in Europe.

18. The other new problem for the Soviet Union in the present phase of their foreign policy is related to the appearance of "Eurocommunism" in a number of West European countries, for example, in Italy, France and Spain. The Soviet Union and the CPSU have, of course, long supported and welcomed the growth of some of the larger communist parties in Western Europe. There are, however, signs that the Russians are not entirely happy about the critical attitudes towards the Soviet Union of some of their leaders, or the rejection of "proletarian internationalism", the Soviet code-word for obedience to Soviet dictates. East European commentators, in particular, have criticised the very name "Eurocommunism", for which the Yugoslavs, incidentally, are full of praise. And here again I believe that the Russians have yet to make up their minds. On the one hand, it could be argued that even the most "Eurocommunist" leader has given support to the main "constant factors" in . Soviet foreign policy, including that towards the Third World; and if they came to power, they might turn their countries into loyal and obedient pro-Soviet client states. If not, perhaps recalcitrant leaders could be purged by the Russians like so many communists in Eastern Europe after the war. On the other hand, they could achieve power by Western democratic electoral processes and then proceed to develop communist regimes which would, like Yugoslavia, consistently reject obedience to the Soviet Union. It is, of course, possible that the Russians already know enough about the "Eurocommunist" Parties to have decided what line to take towards them in the future. But some of the contradictory comments in the Soviet and Eastern European press do suggest that "Eurocommunism" is a new, and still unsolved, problem for the present Soviet leadership; particularly as it relates to current foreign policy.

19. So much, then, for Soviet attitudes to the United States and Europe.

When looking at the next priority in the list of "constant factors", China, it is hard to see any major new element in Soviet policy-making today.

After the death of Mao Tse-tung in September 1976 there was a period of about 6 months when the Soviet Union cut down their criticism of China, and even sent the leader of their border negotiating team, Ilichev, back to Peking. But since March this year the Russians appear to have decided that there is no likelihood of improved relations with Chairman Hua and his colleagues in Peking. The emphasis in Moscow, therefore, is on consolidation of their military strength in the Far East, and a return to a fairly tough attitude to Chinese policies. There is, however, some element of "wait-and-see" in their attitude to China, which may be related to Soviet hopes that if an internal struggle for power in the Chinese Party should develop, they ought not to rule out completely in their planning some lessening of anti-Soviet attitudes among a new Chinese leadership.

- 20. It is at this point that we return to what is at once the most unpredictable, and in many cases the most dramatic and intriguing of the "constant factors" in Soviet foreign policy: the pursuit of Soviet influence in other parts of the world through political, economic, ideological and military means.
- 21. Time does not permit me to go into detail on any specific area in which the Soviet Union is active in the present phase of its foreign policy. But I would like to mention some of the issues and factors which probably motivate the present Soviet leaders when making decisions on this kind of policy. First, as I have already mentioned, is their conviction that they have a right, as a great nation, as a super power, and as the purveyor of the Soviet political and ideological version of communism, to be present in any part of the world in which they choose to involve themselves. Second, this area of activity is the least vital to the Soviet Union's basic needs, and therefore their actions must not endanger Soviet security or affect too

adversely their other "constant factors"; though they may well miscalculate or make mistakes here. In the third place, exploitation of opportunities to advance their influence in the Third World under these conditions should not be regarded in the West as inconsistent with [detente] with the West, as they see it, or with that part of their bilateral relationship with the United States related to crisis control: such as that practised, partially at least, after the Middle East war of October 1973. And fourthly, if the Russians can persuade or enlist the support of another communist state - such as Cuba in Angola, and perhaps in other African countries today - to do the hard work for them, that is a highly acceptable principle consistent with the successful pursuit of this "constant factor" in their foreign policy.

- 22. I believe that, in Soviet thinking, the status of this aspect of Soviet foreign policy is that of a "bonus" rather than a central part of Soviet planning in this field. The Soviet Union may use political, ideological, economic or military means to achieve their goals; and the contemporary scene shows that they are particularly active in East and Southern Africa (for example, Somalia, Ethiopia and Mozambique) on a very opportunistic basis, but with prospects for further progress after their success in Angola. They are also active in the Indian Ocean; and in the Middle East, including North Africa, although their fortunes have fluctuated there in recent years. Certainly the Russians regard the Middle East as an area from which they will not withdraw their presence or their influence; but it is also an area where they must have learnt some hard and unpromising lessons: that even the most generous political, military and economic aid does not necessarily buy the kind of political influence which the Russians want.
- 23. I must admit that in my brief review of this "constant factor" in Soviet foreign policy I have treated many interesting and important areas of activity rather superficially. But this, I hope, may serve to underline

my basic belief that the present elderly leaders of the Soviet Union recognise the need to round off their long period of service to Soviet power by achieving what they see as their main goals in foreign policy.

Whatever they can achieve in the Third World, especially through their global naval power, and in areas such as Africa, where the West may have difficult choices to make, they will pursue their aims with vigour, based on opportunism. But such actions will, in the present phase, always take second place to preserving their super power status and to advancing their interests in the areas which really matter; the security of the Homeland; the strategic balance with the United States; the advancement of their position in Europe; and the ultimate confrontation - with China.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

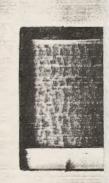
June 29, 1977

Frank Moore -

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Meeting with Members of Congress on Agricultural Exports



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Jane Jane

June 29, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

FRANK MOORE J. M.

There will be six or seven Members of Congress meeting today with Secretary Bergland and the Vice President in the Roosevelt Room to discuss agricultural exports from 2:00 p.m. to 2:30 p.m.

You have a 5-minute appointment at 2:00 p.m. I would like to have you step into the Roosevelt Room and say hello if possible. If it is okay, Tim Kraft can let me know, and I can step out of the room to get you.

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes